

THE BRITISH AND FOREIGN ANTI-SLAVERY REPORTER:

UNDER THE SANCTION OF THE BRITISH AND FOREIGN ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY.

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EUROPEAN TREATY FOR THE SUPPRESSION OF THE SLAVE-TRADE.

[From the *Globe*.]

THE agreement of the five great European powers—Great Britain, France, Prussia, Austria, and Russia—in a definitive treaty, by which each power binds itself to the other high contracting parties to aid and assist in effectually discouraging and suppressing that scourge of and scandal to humanity, the slave-trade, is an event in which good men in this country, and in all other countries, will rejoice.

This long-desired event, to which the attention of the late government was directed with undeviating earnestness of desire, and to accomplish which the efforts of negociation were employed for, a considerable period, was nearly accomplished, when the misunderstanding between the British and French cabinets on the Eastern question caused an interruption of that and other pending negociations, and thus postponed their accomplishment. The present ministry has the credit of completing a work which was perfected, except the merely formal ratification, by their predecessors.

The signatures of the representatives of the five powers, parties to this truly gratifying confederation, were affixed yesterday at the Foreign Office. The slave-trade is at length denounced by the entire moral and physical force of Europe, as a crime against the law of nations—rendering the ships and crews of their respective flags, and all their subjects engaged in the inhuman traffic, liable to the severe and summary treatment which the laws of civilised states agree to inflict on pirates; and giving extended powers to the “right of search,” in order to give the fuller effect to the other provisions of the treaty.

We shall now see whether the flags of Spain and Portugal will continue to be employed to give a dishonest protection, purchased by a regularly graduated system of per centage bribery, to the inhuman monsters of any and every nation who, to the disgrace of the Christian name, and to the degradation of the human form, perpetrate wholesale murders of the worst kind, diversified and heightened by every other species of crime against the human species, while prosecuting this most foul and deeply degrading traffic.

Patriotism, elevated by philanthropy, has at length triumphed. The seal is, after long delays, affixed to the death-warrant of slavery; for, with the now solemnly pledged concentrated energies of Europe to extinguish the slave-trade, slavery itself will speedily be abolished from every*civilized state.

Nor will it be possible for the United States of America to resist the moral influence of this truly sublime spectacle of united Europe, which, by a solemn confederation, engages to vindicate the rights of our common nature, against those who have insolently violated the sacred ties which bind man to man. The fact, by the mild but powerful benevolence of its aspect, will melt the bonds of slavery in America, or the nation which refuses to “let the oppressed go free” will lose her national character, and sink in the scale of nations. Nor will she suffer merely in the estimation of other powers. Her own security will be endangered by her obstinacy. The slaves will first pollute the streams of social life throughout their several ramifications—this, indeed, they are doing with fearful effect—they may then, having enfeebled their tyrants, break the yoke from off their necks, and become in their turn the oppressors, if not the executioners, of those to whom they were bondsmen.

[The particulars of the treaty are thus supplied by the *Morning Herald*. Our remarks upon it will be found in a leader.]

“The right of search, in respect to all vessels liable to the suspicion of being engaged in the slave-trade, is mutually granted by each of the Five Powers, parties to this beneficent treaty, to all vessels of war bearing the flag of any of the five. Thus, the constant existence and unremitting activity of the most effective naval police that any or all of the Five Powers can establish for the suppression of the slave-trade, is made part of the public law of Europe.

“It is agreed, moreover, between the Five Powers, that the legal character and denomination of the crime of trading in slaves upon the sea, and that of co-operating in the traffic by the supply of capital or talent in its aid, shall, by the law of each of them, be made to assimilate as speedily as possible to those which the legislature of Great Britain has imparted to these crimes.

“The British law in respect to the slave-trade, embodied in the 3rd and 4th of William the Fourth, c. 73, is to the effect that any subject of her Majesty, or any individual residing in any part of her Majesty’s dominions, who shall engage in the slave-trade, or in the conveyance of slaves upon the sea, shall be held to be guilty of the crime of piracy; and that any one who shall knowingly embark capital, or lend other aid of any kind to the traffic; although not personally engaged in it, shall be held to be guilty of felony, and punished accordingly: the former crime involving the punishment of death on the adjudication of a competent tribunal of any civilized state; the latter that of transportation on the adjudication of any competent British tribunal.

“Such as we have described will henceforth, in virtue of this treaty, be the public law of Europe. That this law will be rigorously carried into execution by a naval police, which Great Britain and France have the power and the disposition to establish, there can be no reasonable doubt.”

EMIGRATION FROM AFRICA.

THE rumours (which we are happy to learn were exaggerated) of sickness on board the vessels constituting the Niger expedition, have been made use of by some of our contemporaries as an opportunity of bespeaking favour for their cherished scheme of an extended emigration from Africa in order to supply labourers to the West Indies. The *Liverpool Courier*, for example, presents us with the following lucubrations.

We yield to none in admitting the expediency and the desirableness of civilizing Africa: but we contend that we have the means at our own doors, within our own colonies, of improving the habits, and stimulating the ambition, and advancing the education of the native Africans, without any European setting his foot upon that dark, and to him pestilential, portion of the globe. We have the West Indies, but especially on the shores of South America, in the colonies of Demerara and Berbice, many millions of acres of fertile land, capable of growing everything deemed valuable as a tropical production, but which land is lying waste, and is utterly valueless, because labourers cannot be procured to cultivate it. It is admitted that Africa abounds with an idle, and, of course, an ignorant population, totally unfit to improve their condition, however willing, from not having the benefit of teaching and example. If, from two or three thousand African labourers could be introduced annually into these extensive colonies, not as slaves, God forbid, but as free labourers, apprenticed for a term of three or four years, and, after having become acquainted with the arts of cultivation, the mode of growing and manufacturing sugar, coffee, cotton, spices, fruits, and other tropical productions, were reconveyed to their native land, in numbers proportioned to the incoming labourers, they could not fail to turn to advantage at home the lessons and the instruction they received in the British settlements.

It is impossible to conceive the amount of good which would arise from this mode of improving the habits, and increasing the knowledge, and subduing the superstitious fears of the poor Africans. After a brief period, there would be poured into the country annually some thousands of instructed and skilful, as well as industrious labourers. They would bring with them to their native land minds improved, a knowledge of the arts of peace and civilization, with children perhaps able to read, and themselves

in some degree made conversant with the great and leading truths of Christianity. Could anything be more desirable than this? Does not this appear to be the easiest, and most practicable, and most effectual plan of introducing the arts of civilisation, and Christianity itself into the dark abodes of the darkest portion of the earth, where no white man can exist, which no white man has ever penetrated—to regions where the sun which shines, and the breezes that blow, and the vapours that float, are death to an European? We sincerely wish that those men, and generous men we admit them to be, who take so much interest in the improvement of Africa, would turn their attention to this subject.

In briefly noticing this passage, we may begin by observing the very distinct and marked combination it exhibits of a desire professedly strong to confer moral benefits on Africa, with a desire no doubt equally strong to secure pecuniary benefits for the West Indians. There is something very suspicious in this combination. When moral benefits are proposed to be communicated at a cost and sacrifice, there is an obvious guarantee for the sincerity of the party making the proposition; but it is far otherwise when that which is proposed for the moral good of others is to yield a direct profit to ourselves. It becomes in this case but too probable that doing good is a pretext rather than a motive, a mere disguise to cover the real purpose of getting money. The proposal of civilizing Africa by a systematic emigration to the West Indies is, without controversy, put forth by an organ of the West India interest, and on their behalf; and we really must be excused for doubting whether, in a scheme by which they are to make such large gains, they are materially actuated by humanity and benevolence. It is possible that they only *talk* of humanity in order to *make* money. No one who knows how they have treated the children of Africa hitherto will find it easy to think otherwise of them, or to regard this specious proposition in any other light than an endeavour to beguile the British public into an acquiescence in some new mercenary design.

But, passing by the suspiciousness of the motive, let us look at the proposition itself. And, to give it the utmost possible benefit, let us admit the realization of the advantages to Africa so persuasively exhibited. We say then, that the whole process is poisoned from its commencement, because (generally speaking) the Africans have not a freedom of choice. The emigration proposed must be a forced emigration. We say it must be so, for two reasons. In the first place, the Africans (with exceptions far too trivial to relieve a systematic emigration from the consequences we are tracing) are not at present freemen; but, on the contrary, are already in servile subjection to their respective chiefs, without whose consent they could not immigrate, and by whose compulsion they must. In the second place, no idea can be entertained that the chiefs would allow an emigration of their people without a compensation. In other words, they would not part with them but by sale, and whoever wants them must buy them. This, if it went no further, is essentially slave-trading, and is as unjust and wicked in principle as any other part of that atrocious and desolating traffic. The enlightened and religious public of Great Britain, therefore, are, by this writer and his party, gravely solicited to civilize and christianize Africa by a systematic encouragement of the slave-trade!

The mischief is, however, not merely one of principle. The practice would be as fearful as the principle is iniquitous. It would be bad enough if, to the agents on the African coast for immigration to the West Indies, the chiefs were habitually selling their unhappy subjects; but this is not the ordinary or the possible course of the slave-trade. African chiefs do not sell their subjects, but those whom they take in war; and it is notorious that wars are incessantly undertaken and carried on for the mere purpose of supplying the slave-market. Thus then a demand on the coast for emigrants for the West Indies would set the tribes in the interior in arms one against another, and afford a fresh stimulus to those marauding and murderous excursions by which the continent has been so long desolated. The emigration agent, of course, would not ask how those who were brought to him for sale were obtained; nor, if he were to ask the question, could it in any way avail to wash his hands of the crime.

Nor is this all. The African slave-markets are not supplied only by the marauding excursions of the chiefs. They draw many victims from domestic treachery. Household relations sell one another to the slave-merchant, and would do the same to the emigration-agent. So long as there is any one there who will give a shawl, a pound of gunpowder, or a few beads, for a human being, so long is there neither a neighbourhood nor a habitation secure for a moment from the ruthless hand of the man-seller.

To all this it is to be added, that this new slave-trade on the part of Great Britain, would give a direct sanction to the same traffic as now carried on by other powers, and would not only paralyze, but expose to utter derision the costly efforts which we have long been making for its extinction. Loud would the world laugh—and its laugh would be instinct with bitter scorn—if, after all that Great Britain has done to put down the slave-trade, she herself, at the call of avarice, should become a slave-trader.

We cannot conceive it necessary to say another word on the subject before us. It is enough to denounce the proposition under review, as a scheme to civilize and christianize the world by slave-trading. If we are wrong, we challenge contradiction. If we are right, we are sure the British nation will sympathize with us in indignant abhorrence of the design. The subject, however, is by no means exhausted; and the *Trinidad Standard*, moreover, has made it necessary for us to return to it in our next.

DUTCH SLAVE-TRADE.

[From a Correspondent of the *Morning Herald*.]

THE title of these lines will startle many. Is it possible, the majority of your readers will ask whether the Dutch, who are a subscribing party to a treaty for the suppression of the unchristian traffic, can sully their flag by reviving it? Let the following statement be accepted as an answer to the question:

For several years past, thousands of unfortunate Africans have been carried off from St. George d'Elmina (a Dutch settlement on the Gold Coast) to Sumatra, under the pretence of having been enlisted as "volunteer recruits" for their Indian army, but in reality to undergo life-long bondage. Mr. Van der B—, the late colonial minister, was the originator of these iniquitous proceedings, and the scheme found ready participator in Mr. H—, the wealthy ship-owner, whose vessels are exclusively (and with all possible secrecy) employed in this trade. The following facts will show with what remorseless cruelty and concomitant horrors it is carried on.

When one of H—'s slave-ships (they fall under the denomination, being equipped for the purpose) is expected at St. George d'Elmina, the Dutch resident there makes application to the tributary Ashanteen princes for a supply of Africans. The native princes accordingly kidnap from the neighbouring tribes of the interior from three to four times the number which may be required, with the view of affording their infamous employers a choice of victims. On their arrival at the Dutch settlement the strongest and healthiest are selected, and shipped for Sumatra. But what becomes of the two-thirds or three-fourths rejected? We shudder in proclaiming the awful truth, that they are exterminated—murdered in cold blood—or, to adopt the phraseology of the heartless European monsters, who not only countenance but share in these savage enormities, "they are knocked on the head!" Mr. Joseph Gurney has proved these appalling truths. We ourselves can vouch for their accuracy from the testimony of eye-witnesses.

Such is the fate of the rejected—a fate, however, often preferable to that which awaits the kidnapped "volunteers," not one-half of whom are destined to reach their land of captivity. The mortality during the voyage is frightful. Out of upwards of 100 of these poor wretches, shipped towards the close of last year, but 17 reached the Dutch East India colonies alive. The water tank having proved leaky, and the remaining contents being insufficient for the wants of so many souls, numbers died from thirst, whilst others expired from the wounds and injuries dealt them by their raving comrades, expiring in the most excruciating agonies. Calloous must be the heart which bleeds not at the recital of such misery.

BRITISH GUIANA: PORTUGUESE IMMIGRANTS.

THE *Guiana* papers bring melancholy accounts of the state of the Portuguese immigrants, who have lately arrived there in large numbers. The mortality among them has been so great as to excite fears, even there, that immigration may be checked by it, and to exercise the ingenuity of all parties in accounting for it. Let the patrons of West India immigration ponder the following extract from the *Guiana Royal Gazette*:

We are led to make these observations, because we have reason to believe that, unless the attention of attorneys and managers be particularly drawn to this subject, and unless more care and attention be bestowed upon it, the mortality among the Portuguese immigrants will be so great as not only to put an effectual stop to further immigration from that island, but even to operate as a serious impediment to the introduction of immigrants from any other quarter.

We are much inclined to believe that the discontinuance, which has so extensively taken place, of the estates' hospitals, because the native labourers preferred to be sick in their own houses, has operated very unfavourably upon the condition of the sick immigrant; and, indeed, unless we suppose the climate of this colony to be much more fatal and malignant than most colonists will be willing to admit, it is impossible to account for the great mortality which has taken place in several instances, except by supposing that the sufferers were exposed to great destitution and neglect.

Indeed, we have been informed upon authority which we cannot doubt, that, previous to the late changes introduced in consequence of the governor's interference on the Arabian coast, many of the immigrants, both sick and well, slept upon the bare ground, their huts being unprovided with any article of furniture, or even with floors; and it is even stated, though in this we cannot but hope there must be some mistake, that the stock of quinine was exhausted, and that many of the patients were wholly unprovided with this essential remedy.

The colonists at large, notwithstanding the heavy taxation under which they groan, might still find some consolation in the thought that such taxation contributed to increase the population, and so to advance the prosperity of the colony; but, if the immigrants are brought here only to sicken and to die, for want of beds, medicine, attendance, and proper care and oversight upon the part of those who employ them, what advantage—unless a bad name for health and humanity is to be considered an advantage—is the colony to derive from their introduction?

From another number of the same journal, we learn that several of these sick immigrants, brought from an estate in the interior, were landed on the stelling, and left (perfect strangers to the place) to find their way to the colony hospital! His Excellency had appointed a commission to inquire into this case.

An authorized report on the general condition of these people is published in the papers. On this report the *Gazette* observes:—

It is very evident that the proper treatment of immigrants during the first six months of their arrival is a subject as yet very little understood, but which deserves the assiduous study of all connected with estates. As respects the treatment of these people, humanity and the interests of taxpayers and proprietors indicate the same course. Persons who employ them must be made to understand that they are narrowly watched, and that they will be held accountable for any excessive mortality. We do not yet see any reason to believe but that, with proper care and attention, the mortality may be reduced within very moderate limits. But, certainly, if the immigrants are to continue to die in the same proportion as heretofore, it will become a serious question whether any more public money ought to be expended on immigration from Madeira.

POLICY OF THE FRENCH CABINET, RELATIVE TO THE QUESTION OF SLAVERY.

[From the *Constitutionnel*.]

THE Government has just added M. Jubelin, ex-governor of Guadeloupe, to the commission instituted by the ministry of the 1st of March to prepare a project of law for the abolition of slavery in the colonies.

This addition may be regarded as nothing less than an indication of the wishes of the present cabinet to arrive at a solution of the question. M. Jubelin is a creole by birth; he has during many years administered a colony that is believed to be the most advanced, and which, during his administration, has furnished the most remarkable examples of resistance.

For the last three years criminal proceedings on acts the most afflicting to humanity have been of frequent recurrence, and the termination of them appears still to be far distant. The magistrates, who have been accused of a want of vigilance, have thrown upon the governor the responsibility of the incarceration of one of the victims. In his official correspondence, this officer has defended, in a colonial point of view, all the abuses of this regime, and particularly that of the *cachots* (dungeons). He has given his approbation to an abuse of power exercised upon some of the militia whom he had removed from the legal jurisdiction of the councils of discipline, and arbitrarily condemned to a month's imprisonment in the dungeon of a fortress; it was under his administration that the choice of a delegate took place which excited general surprise, and which had the effect of dissolving the colonial council.

Will M. Jubelin be converted, as those pretend who desire that he should be called to the administration of the colonies, to the cause of abolition? Will he have a better plan to propose than those which, up to the present day, have been laid before the colonial commission? One may be permitted to doubt it. Every thing tends to the belief that the object of this appointment is to reinforce the resisting party in the commission, and to draw into it M. the Admiral Duperré himself.

However, M. Guizot has done something on this subject in the last session. He had himself previously reproached the cabinet of M. Molé with not having taken a single step. M. Passy also reproached the last cabinet with not having acted with openness on this question; and yet it was that very cabinet which instituted the commission, and appointed for its president the Duc de Broglie, a sincere advocate of emancipation.

M. Dufaure, in his programme, gives a solution of the question—What has the cabinet of M. Guizot done since the last session? Has it only re-assembled the commission? No, it has adjourned its sittings: it is not even yet convoked. The documents which ought to be submitted to it remain entombed in the portfolio of the minister—in short, an adjournment of the question is openly spoken of.

Is this what M. Guizot promised on the platform of Exeter Hall, in the midst of the great society presided over by the Duke of Sussex, scarcely two years since? Is this his response to the acclamations of which he was the object, and to the hopes to which he then gave birth, an account of which we gave at the time to our readers?

THE MENDIANS.

To the Right Honorable the Earl of Aberdeen, Her Majesty's Principal Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, &c. &c.

*British and Foreign Anti-slavery Society,
27, New Broad Street, Dec. 20th, 1841.*

MY LORD—Since my last communication respecting the Mendian negroes, the Committee have been favoured with information from New York respecting their embarkation for Sierra Leone, the substance of which they have the honour to convey to your Lordship.

"Last Saturday" (the 27th November), writes their correspondent, Mr. Tappan, "all the Mendian Africans, thirty-five in number, sailed from this port for Sierra Leone, on board the barque *Gentleman*, together with five missionaries and teachers, viz., the Rev. James Steele, the Rev. William Raymond, Mrs. Elizabeth Raymond and infant, Mr. Henry R. Wilson, and Mr. James Wilson, the two latter coloured teachers—Mr. Wilson a native of Barbados. They have had a fine breeze, and are now, we hope, well on their way. The anti-slavery public have generously responded to our appeal, and sent the means to enable us to fit them out well, to pay their passage, supply them with many useful articles, and to give the missionaries money to sustain themselves for a while.

"The British consul here, and Mr. Fox the British minister, kindly furnished the missionaries with letters to the authorities

of Sierra Leone. We hope that, on their arrival there, they will find that instructions have been sent out from London by the British ministry to aid the Mendians to reach Mendi, or Kossa, their home.

"Mr. Haensel" (a reverend gentleman who formerly resided at Sierra Leone, and with whom Mr. Tappan had been in correspondence) "says, he thinks, there will be no physical difficulty in their making their way to their native land, when once arrived at Sierra Leone, provided the country be not distracted by war, and security be obtained for their passage through the territory of a hostile tribe. On this subject he says there is some reason to apprehend, as the latest printed intelligence he has had from Sierra Leone mentions, under date of September last year, the existence of a war between the Queah tribe of Timmanees or Timnehs, adjoining the British territory on its eastern junction to the main land, and the Kossas.

"Mr. H. says further, that the road of the Amistad Africans would be, he thinks, east by south, through the territories of the Queah chief Mohammed, and that consequently it would be a hazardous undertaking for them to attempt it, until such a state of peace shall have been restored as shall admit of a guarantee being given by the native chiefs to the colonial government of Sierra Leone, for the undisturbed transit of these expatriated Kossas to their native land.

"We hope the friends in England will do all they can to insure to these Mendians and their teachers, on their arrival at Sierra Leone, or soon after, all the protection, aid, convoy, &c., they will need. If not already done, despatch will be important."

In submitting the foregoing extracts to your Lordship's attention, I have the honour to be, &c. &c.

JOHN SCOBLE.

REPLY.

Foreign Office, December 23rd, 1841.

SIR,—I am directed by the Earl of Aberdeen to acknowledge the receipt of your letters of the 10th and of the 20th inst., respecting the Mendian Africans now on their return to Mendi by way of Sierra Leone; and I am to request that you will inform the Committee of the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society, that his lordship has taken measures for procuring for the individuals in question every aid which can with propriety be given to them by the British Admiral on the African station, the senior officer on the west coast of Africa, the Lieutenant-Governor of Sierra Leone, and her Majesty's Consul at the Cape Verd islands.

With regard, however, to the suggestion contained in your letter, that these negroes should be naturalized during their stay at Sierra Leone, I am to inform you that the question is under consideration, but that Lord Aberdeen is not at present prepared to state whether or not the wishes of the society in this respect can properly be complied with. I am, sir, &c. &c.

J. SCOBLE, Esq.

CANNING.

TEXAS: LYNCH-LAW.

We have been favoured with the following extract from the letter of a German traveller to the *Ausland* (a German paper), depicting a scene painfully instructive as to the social condition of Texas:—

On the morning of the fourth day we saw a crowd collected in the neighbourhood of a small town through which we were passing, and, as the place of meeting was not far, we directed our course towards it. We soon found that the mob, which consisted of about sixty fellows, with some women and children, were assembled for the purpose of executing a lynch-law. In the midst stood a negro, bound, and already "tarred and feathered." He was a strong muscular man, and his demeanour indicated energy of character, a feeling of self-respect, rarely to be met with among slaves. His manner and looks expressed the utmost contempt for the worthless crowd about him. From the latter stepped forward a young fellow, who was evidently, from his suspicious appearance, a well qualified candidate for the gallows; with a noble absence of shame he took upon himself the comprehensive functions of a judge, and in a few words laid before the assembly the offence which the negro was accused of having committed against his mistress, and which, if fairly proved against him, certainly deserved the severe punishment of the law. He had run away, and was now brought back. As the prisoner was asked what he had to say in his defence, he answered with stoical equanimity, that he was wholly innocent of the crime imputed to him, that the bad treatment he had received from his owners had compelled him to run away, and that, as for the rest, he did not acknowledge such a set of banditti as he saw before him to be his judges: they might do what they pleased with him—it was a matter of perfect indifference to him. The aforesaid white varlet communicated this declaration to the meeting, and asked what was to be done with the "black fellow?" They all cried out, with one voice, "Hang him." At the conclusion, the fellow of whom we have spoken so often made a short speech to the mob; whom he honoured with the title of "gentlemen," and pronounced, to the satisfaction of all, sentence against the culprit in words to the following effect:—"Since the black fellow, Tom Niles, has attempted to violate the person of his mistress, Mrs. Randale, we, the sovereign people of Texas, decree that the aforesaid black fellow shall be hanged by the neck till he is dead." A few minutes afterwards the poor black was swinging on a tree! Never did I wish so fervently to have had eight or ten well-armed men at my command, that I might disperse this set of ruffians, and prevent such an act of cruelty; but, situated as we were, we were forced to remain silent spectators of the scene, for, if any one had ventured to interfere in behalf of the negro without a sufficient force to give full effect to his interposition, he would have been exposed to the grossest ill-treatment from these infamous rascals. The least he could have expected would have been to be tarred and feathered. My companion's bosom, though, as a Brazilian, he must, as well as myself, have witnessed many a murder under the name of

justice, could not but have been agitated by feelings similar to mine, since he vented his indignation by the expression, "It is a shame!" We put spurs to our horses, and fled from this scene of horror and crime as fast as we could.

An extract which we shall add to this from a recent number of the *New York Herald*, shews that such outrages in Texas are far from infrequent.

The pestilent influence of the recent horrible murders on the Arkansas and other United States' rivers, has caused the practice of lynching to break forth with renewed fury in Texas, where it had apparently slept for the previous year. And we find recorded in the Texas papers nearly a dozen of these murders that have occurred, and undoubtedly there have been more than as many more. In Shelby county two citizens have been shot down, and several houses burned by a party of outlaws. In Red river two men have been hanged as horse-thieves, without judge or jury. In Washington county one man has been shot down, under the pretence that he was a murderer. In Austin county two men were killed, and two hostile parties were in arms for several days, taking the law into their own hands. In Jefferson county two men have been killed, and the house of one of them burnt to the ground by a party self-styled regulators. And all this in the space of a year.

TO CORRESPONDENTS.

Subscriptions and Donations to the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society may be forwarded to the Treasurer (G. W. Alexander, Esq.) at the Society's Office, 27, New Broad Street, London.

Communications for the Editor of the *Anti-Slavery Reporter* also should be sent to the Office of the Society, as above.

Anti-Slavery Reporter.

LONDON, DECEMBER 29TH.

NOTICE TO AUXILIARY SOCIETIES AND SUBSCRIBERS.

With a view to the diffusion of information on anti-slavery subjects generally, the Committee have resolved to supply **AUXILIARY SOCIETIES, for gratuitous distribution only**, with all pamphlets and small publications published by them at one-half the usual price; and the larger publications, **TO AUXILIARY SOCIETIES AND SUBSCRIBERS GENERALLY**, at a reduction of **twenty-five per cent.**, for immediate payment.

To all subscribers to the Anti-Slavery Society or to any of its auxiliaries, the price of the volume entitled *Proceedings of the Convention* is 10s. 6d.

To **LADIES AND OTHER FRIENDS OF THE ANTI-SLAVERY CAUSE.** **COLLECTING-BOOKS AND CARDS** are now ready, which the Committee will be happy to forward to their friends in the country, **free of expense**, on application being made to the Secretary, at 27, New Broad Street. The Collecting-Book contains sixteen pages of letter press, giving a condensed view of slavery and the slave-trade throughout the world, together with other useful information, designed for the use of those friends of the cause who may aid the society in collecting funds for carrying on its various, extensive, and important operations. The Collecting-Book is elegantly printed in royal 32mo, and is very portable, containing, in addition to the letter press, sixteen pages for donations and subscriptions.

The present number completes the second volume of the *British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Reporter*. With our next we shall give a title-page and index, so arranged on a half-sheet as to be easily detached.

We have received a copy of a resolution passed at a recent meeting of the committee of the Bristol Auxiliary Anti-slavery Society, which links itself in so gratifying and so useful a manner with the suggestions contained in our last respecting the circulation of the *Reporter*, that we venture to give it publicity. It is as follows:—"That the secretary be directed to address a note to each of the members of this committee, recommending them to take in the *British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Reporter*, and, after having read it, to have it introduced into the public reading rooms of this city."

We cordially thank our Bristol friends for being thus mindful of us; and with no less cordiality recommend their example to imitation.

We have to acknowledge the sum of £30, transmitted to the treasurer of the British and Foreign Anti-slavery Society by the rev. Joseph Merrick, being the amount of subscriptions received this year from the Baptist churches worshipping at Jericho, Mount Hermon, and Springfield, in the island of Jamaica. The following extracts from the letter of Mr. Merrick will be gratifying to our readers:—

It affords me much pleasure to see the cause of liberty making such rapid progress throughout the world, and I am happy to be able to say that the success of the emancipation scheme in this island has surpassed the expectations of the best friends of liberty.

The estates in this parish are in a prosperous condition, and are for the most part extending their operations. Last year's crop was far superior to the preceding year's; this year's will be much better than the last, and, should the seasons be favourable, it is expected that next year's crop will be an excellent one.

Disagreements between masters and servants have not yet ceased, nor are they likely to cease till both parties learn to do unto others as they would be done by. The planters are loud in their cry for an increase of labourers, and seem to think that they will never get on till every encouragement is given by the government to immigration from Africa; but, while they are so anxious to obtain more labourers, many of them will not pay those that are working for them. I need hardly tell you that the principal reason why the planters are so favourable to immigration is, because they expect by means of it to obtain labour for a trifling consideration. Whether their expectations will be realized remains to be seen. Hoping that abundant success may attend your labours in the righteous cause in which you are engaged, I remain, dear sir, your's truly,

JOSEPH MERRICK.

We direct attention to an important article from the *Constitutionnel* on the policy of the French government in relation to the question of slavery.

Among the extracts we have made from the West India papers, our readers should notice particularly those on slave-trade in the British West Indies, on the condition of the Portuguese Immigrants into British Guiana, and on the working of the Vagrant Law in Antigua. The notice taken of us in the *Trinidad Standard* we shall duly return in our next.

The article on Dutch slave-trade adds a melancholy interest to what we have already stated concerning the voyage of the *Europa*.

We scarcely need point out the interesting character of the correspondence with Lord Aberdeen, in relation to the Mendians, or of the Narrative of Madison Jefferson, as illustrative of that hyperbole of atrocities, American slavery.

We have inserted elsewhere, from the *Globe*, an account of the treaty for the more effectual suppression of the slave-trade which has just been entered into by the five great European powers; a diplomatic transaction certainly of unusual brilliancy and promise. We give credit to the high contracting parties, and more especially to the government of our own country, for being actuated by the most honourable motives; and we can freely express our gratification that nations, and more especially such influential nations, are at length directing their combined energies to the extermination of so atrocious a crime as the slave-trade. We are restrained, however, from further commendation. The British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society, according to its fundamental principle, contemplates the abolition of slavery and the slave-trade only by moral, religious, and other pacific means; while the new treaty, like all other instruments of the same class, calls into action the cannon and the sword. We can derive no pleasure from the extended application of such methods; but must rather request the friends of abolition to observe that the course of the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society stands out in marked distinction from them. They promote the use of none but moral, religious, and other pacific means. As to the probable results of the new treaty, which we are willing to allow may be as productive as any other instrument of its class has been, we shall avail ourselves of the admission of one of our contemporaries—the *Morning Herald*—that it will by no means put an end to the slave-trade. His words are:—

Much, however, as may be accomplished by efficiently-executed treaties, such as that which has been lately concluded—and much, doubtless, can be accomplished—the slave-trade, we admit, cannot be destroyed by them, even so far as European and American participants in it are concerned. Were every nation under heaven to accept the treaty just signed, and to send cruisers off the coast of Africa, the accursed traffic would still be carried on, though at greater risk and on a smaller scale. The irresistible provocative to the slave-trade is the existence of slavery; and, just as long as slavery is permitted to insult Almighty God, and to degrade humanity, will the slave-trade be among the catalogue of human crimes. The abolition of slavery in Cuba, Brazil, the United States, Texas, and the eastern quarters of the world, is the condition precedent to the destruction of the slave-trade, for so long as unprincipled men have any temptation to buy and sell their fellow-creatures, will they carry off captives to dispose of for slaves, in spite of treaties, cruisers, and courts of mixed commission.

By advices from Malta we find that the steps taken by his Highness the Bashaw Bey of Tunis to effect the extinction of the slave-trade in his dominions have produced a strong sensation along the shores of the Mediterranean. Many persons at Malta and other places being desirous to convey to his Highness an expression of their warm approbation, and to encourage him in that which it remains for him to do, an address has been prepared, which, at the date of our letters, had received numerous influential signatures, and which, it was anticipated, would be presented to him early in January. The address is as follows:—

A testimonial of gratitude to his highness the Bashaw Bey of Tunis, for his philanthropic and most noble resolution to abolish the inhuman and horrible traffic in slaves throughout his extensive and very important African dominions.

We, the undersigned British residents, officers, and merchants of Great Britain and Ireland having heard of your highness's philanthropic and noble intention and resolution to abolish the inhuman traffic in black slaves throughout your territories, and that your highness has, in completion of so solemn and humane a design, actually taken the preliminary steps, by suppressing all the public places or markets for the sale of

negros ;—foreseeing the vast consequences of good to humanity in the regions of northern and central Africa which must inevitably follow from this your highness' conduct, so full of enlightened and princely philanthropy ;—recognising, in this spontaneous determination of your highness, a manifest and all-impressive example to the Mohammedan and Christian sovereigns of neighbouring states, inciting them to imitate such an effective effort for the amelioration of the blacks of Africa, a large but most degraded and suffering portion of the human race ;—and, remembering the immense sacrifices which our own country has made, and continues to make in blood and treasure, to extinguish the foul crime of trafficking in the souls and bodies of men in every part of the world ;—feeling, likewise, that, as in our breasts, your highness' noble philanthropy will excite joy and thankfulness in the minds of our countrymen ;—we come forward most anxiously to express our ardent admiration of your highness' anti-slavery measures, and to offer you our most cordial thanks and acknowledgments, wishing you, at the same time, all prosperity in your administration of the important regency of Tunis, as also every happiness in your personal and domestic privacy in this world, and in the life to come a full reward for this great act of mercy to the forlorn and desolate children of Africa.

WE are happy to learn that her Majesty's government have dismissed Mr. Gaspary from the British consulate at Tunis, on account of his having engaged in the slave-trade.

WE have received gratifying information of the recent anti-slavery movements at Aberdeen. On the 1st instant, a public lecture on the present state of the abolition cause throughout the world was delivered at Machray's Hall, by the Rev. J. Kennedy, the room being crowded to excess. On the 16th was held, at Meston's Hall, the annual meeting of the Aberdeen Emancipation Society, the Rev. Dr. Dewar, principal of the University, in the chair. The tone and temper of the proceedings are stated to have been of a most impressive and encouraging character. Want of space alone prevents us from noticing them more at large.

THE slave-factories at Gallinas were destroyed. Immediately on this occurrence, we expressed our conviction that the slave-trade at Gallinas would be renewed. Let our readers now mark the following extract of a letter from Captain Richard Lawrence to the Rev. Thomas Dove, dated Sierra Leone, June 4th, 1841, and published in the *Wesleyan Missionary Notices* for December.

"The Gallinas have been destroyed ; but still there have been two cargoes of six hundred and fifty unfortunate slaves shipped from thence since the destruction of that place."

SLAVE-TRADE IN THE BRITISH WEST INDIES.

AN article which startles the West Indian journals from their propriety, and will produce a sensation at home, has appeared in the *Berbice Gazette*, headed *The Slave-trade—its existence in Spain, Portugal, England, and the West Indies*. The passages relating to the last are as follows :—

To prove the existence of such an abomination in the British West Indies is, however, a task more onerous and difficult. And the trouble is augmented by a necessary suppression of names, dates, and a minute detail of circumstances, which may appear actually indispensable to the establishment of any given fact. Our readers, consequently, must content themselves with an obscure, if not inexplicable detail of events, positive testimony of the truth of which we are not now at liberty to furnish them.

The events to which we refer occurred in a British colony some few months a-gone ; and the party engaged in the transaction then held, and still holds, a rank in society which would lead us to hope for better things from him. The facts are briefly these :—

Some few months since a vessel was fitted up, with the purpose, as was then avowed, of being employed in a lucrative, and, as we supposed, an honourable trade. When all the necessary preparations were completed, she spread her canvass and left the port. To disclose her name—how she rated—what was her former occupation—who was her owner—the name and character of her commander, or her port of destination, would perhaps involve us in difficulties, the consequences of which might prove annoying, if not disastrous. Suffice it then to say, she left the port, and her commander, after an unusual absence, returned without her. The tale he told we will not here repeat ; nor need we state the unsolicited pains he took to corroborate its truth.

That the foregoing circumstances are no evidence of the vessel having been designed or fitted for unlawful trade, we readily admit. Previous to her departure, however, a fact was noted tending in some degree to rouse suspicion. In the course of preparation nothing unusual was observed, and it was not until a short time prior to her leaving the harbour that a person visited the vessel, and, to his surprise, discovered that she contained a cargo as singular as it was suspicious. This cargo consisted of a great number of iron machines, and some half dozen brass cannon. These, with the exception of one gun, which was mounted and on deck, were in the hold. Thus laden she left the port. What has become of her is still a question. Whether, thus equipped, she was sold to a foreign slave-dealer, or whether she was wrecked, time perhaps will prove.

Here we must stop ; not that evidence is wanting to substantiate what we have said, but that we rather choose to screen ourselves from the onus of now producing it.

Before dismissing the subject, and in order to prevent any misconstruction, we beg to say, that nothing is farther from our intention than to convey the idea that vessels are fitted out for the purpose of transporting slaves into British colonies. Such an assertion would be libellous and false. But that there is a "partial implication in the offence," by affording foreign slave-merchants facilities for carrying on the traffic, we fear is too true.

And we must also take this occasion to disclaim any intention of casting

a slur upon the character of our planters or merchants. The contrary : no one will more readily and cheerfully bear witness to their superior intelligence, their indefatigable industry and enterprise, or to their unimpeachable honour and integrity. Our only wish is, if possible, to elicit something from other parties who are cognizant of the affair to which we have alluded, and who, we doubt not, are in possession of facts which as yet we have but an imperfect knowledge of.

To this extract we add the comments of two other papers ; the *Guiana Chronicle*, and the *Trinidad Standard*.

With regard to slavery in the West Indies, the author of this article appears to allude, in the most studied and mysterious manner, to some transaction which lies so near his footsteps as to induce him to tread as cautiously as if he feared to raise the coiled snake. What can this be ? There is evidently more than meets the eye. Is there a subject in the British colonies occupying a decent position, who would afford foreign slave merchants facilities for carrying on the traffic in the flesh and blood of their fellow-creatures ? Although we do remember, some time ago, to have heard of a vessel with manacles on board lying in the harbour of a British colony, it did not particularly arrest our attention at the time : maybe we considered the tale as false, and thought no more of it. This article has, however, recalled the matter to our memory, and we will not lose sight of it, but endeavour to follow the shadow to the grave where the dirt has been thrown over the corruption : if we fail the public shall hear nothing more of it ; but, should we succeed, boldly will we stand forward, and, pointing to the avaricious wretch, exclaim—"thou art the man!"—*Guiana Chronicle*.

The article in question evidently alludes to facts, or supposed facts which have occurred in British Guiana ; but we trust that the editor has been deceived. At all events, the matter must not be allowed to stand as it does ; for, with all its uncertainty, the article referred to is poisonous enough to ruin the whole West Indies, should the facts not be inquired into, or the surmises be cleared up. No more mortal wound could be inflicted upon these colonies than to allow the article in question to circulate without heed or comment, and we now demand in the name of this colony that the mystery be cleared up in one way or another. We presume the matter must have come to the knowledge of Mr. Light, and we can scarcely doubt that his Excellency will endeavour to trace the facts to which the *Berbice Gazette* so pointedly, but mysteriously, refers. But, as the subject may have escaped his notice, or have been derided as referring to matters altogether visionary, we shall take the liberty of sending his Excellency our opinion of the matter.—*Trinidad Standard*.

NARRATIVE OF MADISON JEFFERSON, TWENTY-TWO YEARS A SLAVE IN NEW VIRGINIA, U. S.

THE subject of the following narrative, called at the office of the British and Foreign Anti-slavery Society on Tuesday, the 30th ult., and stated that he was an escaped slave from the United States, and had come over from Canada with a gentleman now residing at Petersfield, from whom he brought a reference, and by whom this statement has been subsequently confirmed. He gives the following touching account of his individual sufferings in slavery, as well as many collateral facts exhibiting the atrocious character of the system in general.

Madison Jefferson was raised in New Virginia, on the Ohio, about seven miles from Parkersburgh, on the estate of a man named George Neale a planter, cultivating tobacco, Indian corn, and hemp, and possessing two other farms, on which there were about 250 slaves. He was one of sixteen children, twelve of whom are still in slavery, viz., nine sisters and three brothers, one brother and two sisters having deceased some years. The account he gives of the death of his brother is simple and affecting. He was employed as a swine-herd, and one day during a heavy thunder storm, he took shelter under a tree, a branch of which, riven by the lightning, struck his head ; from that day "he took sick," but no one cared for his complaints. Driven forth daily to his appointed tasks at length he died—another victim offered up to the insatiable Moloch of avarice, whose blood crieth out even from the ground against his oppressors.

How pleasing in general are the reminiscences of the days of our youth ! How wont are we who have been brought up under the kind and watchful eye of a parent, to exclaim, with reference to that sunny period, "they were the happiest hours of my existence !" It is not so, however, with the little slave. Madison's earliest recollections are embittered by the harsh treatment he received from his mistress when a house-boy, in which occupation he continued from the time he was four years old until about sixteen—at first, he was employed in taking care of the young children, of the women engaged in the field, or otherwise ; afterwards in cleaning shoes, knives, carrying wood, and various household duties. The systematic discipline of the children is commenced before they can walk : "they are whipped for crying," says Madison, "to make them subdue." He has frequently been beaten by his mistress because the shoes or knives were not cleaned to her satisfaction, been struck with the tongs and shovel, had his hair pulled out by the roots, his ears pinched till they bled, and been made to sit in a corner and to eat dry bread till almost choked, with various other petty tortures—amongst others he mentions that the children were sometimes obliged to get a basin of water, and scrub each other's faces with a corn cob (the cone of the Indian corn after the grain has been removed, which is very rough), till they bled under the infliction. His mother, from Madison's account, appears to have been a pious woman ; she attended a Baptist chapel whenever she could get permission, and taught her children to pray to Him who is a "strength to the needy in his distress." Several of the slaves on the estate were in the habit of attending places of worship, and were members of churches ; they had a place appropriated for them behind the door, not being allowed to sit with the whites. Both Madison's master and his son were members of the Methodist church ! Indeed, he adds, that "all the Methodists, even the preachers, are slave-holders, and think no harm of it."

When he was about sixteen years of age, still being employed about the house, he attempted to escape to Canada, and had travelled between three and four days, having reached Zanesville in Ohio, when, arriving at a creek, he was unable to proceed ; some persons coming down in a boat offered to convey him over, but, instead of doing so, they carried him to Parkersburgh, lodged him in gaol, and obtained a reward for his capture. On this occasion he received thirty-nine lashes, and was put in chains for a

week, being employed in working in the garden and chopping wood during the day, and at night chained to a block in a room by himself. About this time, one of his sisters was sold off to the south: many tears were shed by the mother and by the whole family, but they were obliged to conceal their grief from their oppressors, who, to use Madison's own words, "if they caught them crying, would tell them that they would give them something to cry for." This fear of separation was constantly hanging over families, "we have a dread constantly on our minds," says M. J., "for we don't know how long master may keep us, nor into whose hands we may fall." The dearest ties of kindred are totally disregarded. He has frequently known men sold in one direction, and their wives in another; their social affections and sympathies forming no part in the cold and mercenary calculations of the slave-holder; indeed, these separations, by a refinement of cruelty, are frequently made for punishment.

About twelve months, he thinks, after this event, he made a second attempt to escape, being encouraged to do this by the success which some slaves in a neighbouring estate had met with in getting clear off. This time he had travelled four days, when he was re-captured at a town in Ohio by a number of men in the street, who, suspecting him of being a slave, demanded his pass; not having one, he was put in gaol, and brought back to the estate by his master's son. On his arrival there, the father told him that "it was no use his running away, and that he would make the blood run from his shoulders to his heels." He received fifty lashes, was chained and placed in the dark dungeon nightly for some time, being let out to work during the day. After this he was sent to the field. The hours of labour were from daylight till dark regularly, and, during busy times, they were frequently at work two hours before day. Sunday was generally considered a day of rest, but they were frequently employed during the whole of that day in binding wheat, taking up hemp, stemming tobacco, &c. They breakfasted generally at nine o'clock, from half an hour to an hour being allowed, according to the pressure of work—in ordinary times they had a dinner hour and a meal in the evening, but when busy were only allowed two meals, getting an ear of corn or something of that kind in the middle of the day, whilst pursuing their tasks. The provisions consisted of from two to three herrings, with corn bread and milk at times, and during the long summer days they would sometimes get about a quarter of a pound of bacon—on the whole, the allowance was very scanty; frequently, Madison says, "have I cried for hunger after coming from work, and I have seen my brothers and sisters crying round mother for food, and she having none to give them." Not daring to remonstrate against this cruel neglect, he has often been obliged, as opportunity offered, to pilfer to supply his cravings. In the field the slaves worked by tasks under the inspection of black drivers, who were obliged to exact them, under fear of punishment themselves by the white overseer. These tasks bore some proportion to the strength of the party who had to perform them, but the utmost amount of labour was extorted; he states that the strong men could generally perform their portion, but not so the weak men and women, in which case the drivers would whip them, "just as they would a horse in a cart that flinched from his work," with a cow hide or a whip called a "silk cracker." The drivers were allowed to inflict from twenty-five to thirty lashes on the clothes, but, when the latter complained to the overseer that they could not get any slave to do the required work, the latter would have him staked, viz., thrown down on his face with his arms and legs extended to stakes, and in that position he would receive a flogging on the bare back; he has known from 60 to 100 lashes given in the field in this way; or the culprit's hands have been tied together with a rope, which was then thrown over the limb of a tree or over beam, and he has been pulled up till the toes only just reached the ground, the feet tied together, and a rail or fence thrust between the legs with a weight on it to keep the body at full stretch, and prevent the slightest shrinking of the flesh under the descending blows. Women are frequently staked in the field in the manner above described, or their hands and feet are held by four persons: he has seen pregnant women flogged in this manner, the earth being dug out to prevent their foreparts from receiving injury. Indeed, the women are treated proportionally to their strength with as much severity as the men, and in many respects their sufferings are infinitely greater; on his estate they would receive when punished in the barn, where the severer floggings were given, generally after working-hours, from fifty to sixty lashes, the men from one hundred and fifty to two hundred. At Beaconove Saltwicks, where he was hired out for some time, a man received five hundred lashes, this was for striking his master, whom he fought till he was overpowered—the master and two sons punished this poor wretch successively with the cow hide, which is a strip of raw hide cut the whole length of the ox, and twisted while moist until it tapers to a point; when it has become dry and hard, it has somewhat the appearance of a drayman's whip, but the sharp edges projecting at every turn cut the flesh at every stroke; it is indeed a dreadful instrument of punishment. Another case of severe punishment occurred during the period of his stay at this last named estate—a slave was caught in the act of running away, and on being brought back was whipped severely: he threatened to revenge himself by killing his master, and this having been told the latter, he had him seized whilst in the very act of lying in wait; he was again most severely whipped, and then chained in the coal bank to dig coal, being fed on a small allowance of bread and water; in a week afterwards he was found dead. Another method of punishment is called "bucking":* the hands are tied together and passed over the knees, and a stick is then passed between the arms and knees, and the poor victim is thus left helplessly to roll about while under the infliction of punishment. On a neighbouring estate, belonging to a person named Lewis, he has seen a man staked with a cat tied on his back, which they whipped to make it bite and scratch the quivering flesh—and sometimes the cat is drawn from the shoulder to the hips. Surely an ingenuity more than human is exhibited here; well may it be said, that, "if the influence of slavery on the minds of the slaves is brutalising, on the minds of the master it is infernalising."

Slavery, as has been before remarked, falls with a peculiar severity on the women. He has known women who were *enceintes*, employed in plantation labour till within a few hours of their delivery; and in some cases the children have been actually brought forth in the field. Placed too within the grasp of their brutal masters, neither the innocence of youth nor the virtue of womanhood is respected. Madison confirms this by

* This practice obtains also in Brazil.

details which will hardly bear laying before the public. Marriage never takes place among the slaves—on his estate there was not one married couple—but the connections that were formed were generally faithfully adhered to, except that (as has been before said) they were liable to be broken in upon by the unbridled licentiousness of the masters, overseers, &c.; the proof of which is offered in the fact, that a very considerable portion of the slaves are of the mixed race—the offspring of this illicit intercourse being treated in all respects as the pure blacks. Women who refuse to submit themselves to the brutal desires of their owners, are repeatedly whipt to subdue their virtuous repugnance, and in most instances this hellish practice is but too successful—when it fails, the women are frequently sold off to the south. Madison's young master, albeit a member of the Methodist church, punished a young woman on the estate repeatedly on this account, and at length accomplished his purpose, while she was in a state of insensibility from the effects of a felon blow inflicted by this monster.

It will readily be supposed that, under the infliction of these varied tortures, insurrections sometimes take place, though they are less frequent than might at first be expected; for the slaves, being unarmed and greatly dispirited by the treatment they receive, and having no opportunity of organising any combined effort, are invariably overpowered. Madison relates a rising which took place at some distance from them, in Lowdon County, O. Virginia. The mother of six adult sons was about to be flogged; they with filial feelings resisted this outrage, and were joined by the whole body of the slaves, who, however, were overpowered without bloodshed, which does not indeed appear to have been their object. The six sons were sold off to the south, one of whom, on being told to accompany the *soul-driver*,* took an axe and cut off his right hand.

About three years elapsed before the subject of our narrative again attempted his escape, and he had now learnt a little more of the direction he was to take; he knew the pole-star well, by keeping which straight before him, he was assured that he would at length reach the British territory. He also was instructed to examine the trees, on the north or weather beaten side of which no moss would be found growing, and by attending to this mark, even when the heavens were overcast with clouds, and his bright cynosure was hid from view, he could still advance towards the land of liberty and hope.

He reached Cleveland, Ohio, when he was betrayed by a mulatto man and woman, lodged in the gaol, and carried back by his young master to the scene of his stripes and toil. On arriving with him at the estate, this latter told him that "he might start again as soon as liked, for he would follow him into hell itself, and bring him back." This young man had obtained the honourable epithet of the "Nigger-hunter, from his success in tracking the poor runaways, and was often requested to undertake the re-capture by neighbouring planters, for which purpose he frequently employed blood-hounds. It may be supposed that Madison's punishment on this occasion was a severe one, he received one hundred and fifty lashes with the cow-hide, and had brine poured upon his back, which was in a very lacerated state; in relating this part of his narrative, he made a touching allusion to the kind offices of an affectionate sister, in ministering to his sufferings. After this infliction, he was placed in the dark dungeon for two days, and then made to walk up and down before the house in chains, with a bell upon his head, which is fixed in the following manner:—band of iron goes round the waist with upright bands connecting it with the collar, from whence two other upright pieces terminate in a cross bar, to the centre of which, beyond the reach of the wearer, a bell is suspended; this degrading instrument he wore for several days, and was then sent to the field, being locked up and chained nightly for five or, six months, by which time he was supposed to be cured of running away, and had promised on his knees not to repeat the attempt. The love of liberty, however, was not to be subdued by all the harsh treatment he had received; not above twelve months had elapsed from the termination of his punishment, before he once more set out. On a Sunday night, with nothing but the piece of bread which was supplied him for his supper, he took a last look at the scene of all his sufferings, and, praying to God for help, he walked on at a brisk rate till the dawn of the morning warned him to seek the friendly cover of the woods. In this way he travelled between a fortnight and three weeks—hungry and thirsty, he was at times ready to faint—he journeyed in fear and trembling, the sound of a "cracking stick" (to use his own expression) "making him afraid;" he was frequently two and even three days without food, not daring to approach any but the meanest houses, when, with a bridle on his shoulder, which he brought from the estate, he would inquire "if they had seen a horse go that way?" and then beg a morsel of bread and a cup of water, which was rarely refused. "Hope," thus from time to time strengthened, "sustained the head of perseverance till success crowned it." After travelling between a fortnight and three weeks, he began to fall in with abolitionists and Quakers, and now his way by their help and directions was made more easy. A kind friend on one occasion wrote the direction of the road in large roman characters on a piece of paper, telling him when he came to a finger post, to see if the writing on it corresponded therewith, and if so, to follow that route. In five weeks from leaving the estate he reached the boundary, and, not being able to cross, he lay concealed in the woods for two days, when by the kindness of Providence, he met a gentleman who, without asking many questions, suspecting probably how the case stood, offered to pay his fare, and took him to the ferry boat. The ferryman began closely to interrogate him as to his business, &c., but was silenced by Madison's benefactor remarking that, as long as the fare was paid, he had no right to ask any questions. In a few minutes the toilsome pilgrimage of the subject of our narrative was happily consummated, and he stood erect—a freeman upon his broken fetters!

Not long after this joyful event, being in the employ of a Canadian farmer, he met this ferryman, who charged him with being a runaway slave, to which the latter boldly but imprudently replied—"It is true, but I am now a freeman, and you cannot touch me." The other surly rejoined with an oath—"If I had known it, I would not have brought you over; but we may get you across the lines yet, as many of you have been before." Madison thinks that this man gave information of his being there. An advertisement offering 1500 dollars reward had preceded him to Buffalo—

* The soul-driver is the name given by the negroes to the inter-state slave-trader, and is most expressive of his revolting and de-humanizing occupation.

and many, instigated by the sordid love of gain, would have gladly secured him, but he was, mercifully delivered out of their hands.

For two years he was employed by different farmers, from whom he brings testimonials of good conduct; and during this period, by the kindness of a little English boy of twelve years of age, who used to sit up teaching him after work-hours till twelve and one o'clock, and by attending an evening school, he learnt to read tolerably well in the New Testament; and he appears most desirous of improving himself in every way. For a long time after arriving in Canada, he used frequently to dream that he was again in the hands of his master; on awaking in sudden alarm, he has found his pillow wet with tears from the anguish of his mind, and, when returning consciousness convinced him of his safety, his mind would be filled with thankfulness and praise to his great Deliverer—"I don't know what to do, I feel so thankful," is his own simple but expressive language. It is most interesting to hear him speak of these feelings, as well as of the deep and painful anxiety with which he contemplates the sad condition of his mother and family, who still "sigh by reason of the bondage," and whose sufferings will probably be aggravated in revenge for his escape.

The fear of being kidnapped and carried back into slavery, as many of the refugees have been by a set of degraded outcasts who prowl about for that purpose, induced him at length to come to England with the gentleman already alluded to, who treated him with great kindness, and from whom he has excellent testimonials.

He is evidently a young man of considerable intelligence, and ten minutes conversation with him would convince every unprejudiced person of the falsehood of the aspersions thrown upon the African character for intelligence, as if in justification of the foul wrongs that have been heaped upon them. There is a tone, too, about him of simple unaffected piety. "I always thought," he said, "that we slaves should pay more regard to religion than any, because we were bad off in this world, and therefore ought to take care of the world to come." While speaking of some of the ill-treatment which he had received from his master, he was reminded that it was his duty to forgive him. "I do," he replied, "else how could I hope to be forgiven," and added, "I would be glad to see him here; and I would work for him for wages, as well as for any body else." What a paradise would this world be, if all its inhabitants possessed the spirit of this poor negro!

R. J. R.

AMERICAN COLONIZATION WICKEDNESS AGAIN.

The latest development of the American colonization spirit is also the most perfect. It appears from the *Maryland Colonization Journal*, edited by James Hall, general agent of the state society, that the resolution to which we adverted some months since—a resolution intended to give all people of colour "notice to quit," has produced the irritation requisite for giving a pretext to republican tyrants to resort to forcible expulsion. The following is an extract:—

"We publish to-day an account taken from the Cincinnati papers of the recent riot there, in which the whites and the coloured people were the antagonists. We do this in kindness, and because we think it criminal to conceal those facts which, as they occur, go to prove the vanity and utter futility of the hope that the white and coloured people of the United States can live together in peace and comfort under existing circumstances. Most deeply do we deplore the occurrences in Cincinnati. They are disgraceful to that city. They are a stigma upon our free institutions. Most willingly would we have closed our eyes to them, or drawn a veil over them that would have concealed them for ever. But, unjustifiable and disgraceful as they were, they were warnings too solemn to be disregarded. The outrage was the result of a feeling which exists, to control which the law was in this instance powerless, and which, though producing acts of violence and oppression, is nevertheless an agent whose presence must be recognized and considered in looking upon the situation of the country, and the two classes of population by which it is occupied. We have seen how the third resolution of the June convention has been abused by the abolitionists. And for what? For saying to the free people of colour, 'That, in the opinion of this convention, the day must arrive, when circumstances that cannot then be controlled, and which are now maturing, will deprive them of the freedom of choice, and leave them no alternative but removal.' And did not the convention, in the warning which they then gave, speak the words of the purest prophecy, as illustrated by the events in Cincinnati? And did they not do their duty in speaking them?

"We know that our paper finds its way into the hands of the free people of colour, and we therefore, in the most emphatic manner, urge upon them to take the warning of the third resolution to heart—to watch events as they occur so as to test its truth, and to act accordingly. If they do so, they will become as well assured as we are that this country is but the temporary home of their race."

It seems that the truly christian advice of the *Maryland Journal*, aided by more violent means, is telling upon the minds of the coloured people of Cincinnati: for the *New York Sun*, a daily paper widely circulated and much patronized in the United States, places before its readers the following gratifying information:—

"A Good Result.—It is stated in the *Cincinnati Gazette*, that, in consequence of the recent terrible riots in that city, a number of the oldest and most respectable of the coloured people—those who have property and are of good and peaceable habits—are making arrangements to dispose of their effects, and remove to Liberia. That is the best thing they can do. We have long been satisfied that the free blacks should seek a residence in Africa. That is misdirected philanthropy which would induce their stay in this country."

The policy of goading people into insubordination, and then shipping them off to distant settlements, is a very common trick of tyranny. Nothing like smoking the hive to get rid of the bees, especially if we do so under the pretence that they will enjoy themselves much more in some other locality. This is the height of benevolence—to make people very miserable in order that they may consent to be made more happy. In America this species of loving-kindness displays itself in savage resolutions, meant to prick on free people of colour to riot, and then in newspaper articles founded upon the events which follow, urging the impossibility of an amalgamation of the two classes.—*Non-conformist.*

WEST INDIES.

BRITISH EMIGRANTS IN JAMAICA.—A correspondent of the *Baptist Herald* thus writes:—On Tuesday no less than twenty-four poor emigrants came to Kingston from Hermitage Estate, St. Georges, the property of Dr. Spalding. They were in the most wretched state of destitution, almost all barefoot, and without a farthing to obtain food. The sitting magistrates kindly gave them an order on the city funds for £12, to support themselves until the magistrates had inquired into their case, such examination having been ordered by his honour the attorney-general. This order however was refused payment by the treasurer, and the poor wretches would have been without food, had not Daniel Hart, Esq., with his wonted humanity and kindness, offered to cash the order. The tale of their sufferings is heart-rending, they appear to have been nearly starved, and the poor woman had lost her toe from the chigres which infested the coffee-house in which they had been obliged to dwell, not having cottages to live in. Their object is to obtain a cancelling of their indentures.

THE STATE OF CRIME in this island may be judged of by the table printed below. The population of the parish of St. Elizabeth exceeds 20,000.

Convictions at the courts of quarter sessions for the parish of St. Elizabeth, from the 1st of September, 1838, to the same date in 1839, 1840, 1841, respectively:—

OFFENCES COMMITTED.	1838-39	1839-40	1840-41
Larceny	16	19	22
Embezzlement	none	none	1
Obtaining goods under false pretences	none	none	none
Assaults with intent	none	none	none
Ditto aggravated	none	1	none
Ditto on magistrates	none	none	none
Ditto common	8	6	6
Ditto and riot	none	none	none
Contempt of magistrate	1	none	none
Escape from prison	none	none	4
Total in each year	25	26	33

DOMINICA.—ESCAPE OF SLAVES FROM MARTINIQUE.—Eleven men arrived here on Tuesday morning last from Martinique, in an open canoe. This will be another accession to the number delivered from the yoke of our man-enslaving neighbours. May all similar attempts on the part of the enslaved population of that island be successful, until the glorious sun of unconditional freedom to the sons and daughters of Africa, there held in bondage, shall have arisen, and burst forth with bright effulgence upon their now morally polluted land!—*Dominican, October 6.*

SIXTEEN MORE FUGITIVE SLAVES from Martinique have arrived in Dominica; being the second batch in one week, and the two amounting to twenty-seven.—*Dominican*

ANTIGUA:—THE VAGRANT LAW. In the house of assembly on the 7th ultimo, Dr. Ferguson made the following exposé of the working of the Vagrant Law:—

"It had frequently struck him, that many persons are sent to the House of Correction improperly, and without deserving such punishment—he alluded to those who are labouring under severe sickness, and incapacitated by the bad state of their health from work—these individuals are taken up as vagrants, sent to the House of Correction, where in a short time after they die. He did not think that any blame can be attached to the magistrates; they are compelled by the law, as it now exists, to commit all such as are proved vagrants (that is, all those without the visible means of support), and it is out of their power to set aside the law in such cases; the law ought therefore to be amended, and these improprieties regulated. He was led to make these observations from a circumstance of very recent occurrence—a poor woman without means, emaciated by disease, and so broken in constitution as to be prevented from working, was taken up at English Harbour, and, under the Vagrant Act, sent to the House of Correction, where she died soon after; he had been at some pains and trouble to procure all possible information respecting this case; and he laid before the house a copy of a note from the superintendent of police, which had been the result of a communication on the subject. By this note it appears, that the poor woman was entirely unable to work, she was almost in a state of starvation, and her only subsistence arose out of the charity of some few individuals. In such circumstances, and so situated, she fell under the restrictions of the Vagrant Act, and the justices before whom she was brought were compelled to commit her (in spite of her disease) to the House of Correction: thus her only crime was sickness; nevertheless her punishment was similar to that of a confirmed vagrant. The law ought to be amended—had such an occurrence taken place in town, he is assured that a proper place and suitable accommodation, would have been procured for the poor creature by the excellent rector (whose indefatigable zeal deserves admiration); but is it in town only that help can be had? Are there not authorities in the other parishes placed there to afford assistance? Again, when the woman was sent to the House of Correction, the medical practitioner there ought at once to have seen the impropriety of admitting an individual in her situation: and yet the magistrates are blameless: but, nevertheless, the laws should be so framed as to remove the shadow of blame or responsibility from their shoulders." In order that accurate information should be procured, he would therefore move that this Excellency the Lieutenant-Governor be requested to order, for their inspection, the warrant of commitment, under which the woman was committed, together with the copies of the evidence on the case, and the result of the inquestorial examination of her body."

TRINIDAD.—The plan of discontinuing allowances has now extended to every district in the colony in which shops for supplying the labourers have been opened. The want of the latter in one or two neighbourhoods has, however, compelled the planters to continue the old system for the moment. A good moral effect has already been produced among the labourers by the change, in their care and preparation for each ensuing week. On some estates the labourers have had the option of continuing or not upon the old system, and part of them only have chosen the money.

wages without allowances; but in all these cases the number of the latter have increased daily. At a meeting of the Agricultural and Immigration Society, held on the second Monday in September, the following resolution was passed—"That this Society views with entire approbation the general adoption of the principle of paying for all descriptions of agricultural labour exclusively in money; and they are of opinion that it is likewise desirable to introduce, as early as possible, the custom of renting at a fair and reasonable monthly charge, and recommend the measure to favourable consideration and adoption by the owners, lessees, and managers of plantations in this colony."—*Trinidad Standard.*

BRITISH GUIANA.—VALUE OF THE IMMIGRANTS.—The *Guiana Reformer* says, that, from the immigrants into that colony there has been "reaped not the slightest public benefit, but, on the contrary, much disease, misery, and oppression," and that, "out of 1352 immigrants (arrived in one month), 819 are useless Madeira immigrants, and 242 island wanderers." It adds, "truth compels us to confess, that, excepting the few from Sierra Leone and Brazil, the rest of the immigrants are not agricultural labourers; or will not, at all events remain any length of time at agricultural labour: but, after amassing a few dollars, devote their attention exclusively to peddling to the manifest injury of the poorer classes of our native creoles. In attestation of this fact, the mercantile advertisements in the newspapers omit not to call the attention of these pedlars to articles suitable to the wandering profession of petty hucksters:

SLAVERY IN THE UNITED STATES.

"The voice of thy brother's blood crieth from the ground." Attend, ye planters in the southern states of the American Union! Out of your own mouths ye shall have your condemnation. By your own confession you stand convicted of that which has the "primal, eldest curse upon it—a brother's murder!" The proof is that which you dare not contravene.

By the official report, just published by the American government, of the census of the people of the United States of America for the year 1840, it appears that of the free persons, white and coloured, one in thirteen attains the age of fifty-five years and upwards, whereas not one in twenty-four of the slave population attains that age; clearly showing that, in a country of which the climate is more favourable to the black than to the white man, slavery cuts off prematurely one-half of those who would, according to the course of nature, reach anything approaching to a lengthened period in human life. Go to the graves of thy victims, thou Lynch Law, thou Bowie Knife-man! thou AMERICAN PLANTER! and ther meditate on the blessings of American Liberty.—*SPARTACUS.*

"THE ROBBERY OF THE WICKED SHALL DESTROY THEM."—[From a pamphlet entitled *Slavery of the United States to sinful and foolish customs* By Charles Simmons.]—There are at least 2,488,000 slaves in the United States, half of whom I will suppose to be saleable as labourers, and would cost purchasers upon an average 600 dollars each. If the whole are worth 300 dollars each (the usual estimate), leaving out half will bring the others to 600 dollars each. In some employments slaves are said to be so driven as to be "used up" in six or seven years. But I will suppose their working age averages twenty years. In the purchase of 62,200 annual recruits to keep the number the same, is therefore expended 37,320,000 dollars. I will suppose there is an average of one overseer to sixty slaves, making the number of 41,466 overseers, for 2,488,000 slaves. If the salary and board of these should average no more than 400 dollars a year, it would cost 16,586,000 dollars. The cost of the under drivers I will offset against the cost of overseeing free labourers. I will suppose the other expenses of slave watching, catching, and holding the loss on runaways, on those who die by violence, and for recruiting and sustaining the paraphernalia of slavery, not included in the above estimate, to be equal to the expense for overseeing—16,586,400 dollars.

If no more than one in ten of the 1,244,000 slaves who are supposed to be "merchantable" should be crushed annually under the horrid system, and be cut off from no more than ten years upon an average, and if we suppose this time to be worth no more than 25 cents each working day, or 78 dollars a year, it amounts to a pecuniary loss of over 97,000,000 dollars annually. But it is quite possible that this estimate of one in ten is too low by half; for we can scarcely conceive any thing more crushing to both body and mind than slavery, with its shocking cruelties.

62,200 recruits at 600 dollars each.	37,320,000 dollars
41,466 overseers, cost 400 dollars each	16,586,400
By 124,400 premature deaths	97,032,000
Other expenses	16,586,400

167,524,800 dollars

Massachusetts has 300,000,000 dollars in taxable estate, which I will multiply by 21, and suppose the product (six thousand and three hundred million dollars) to be equal to the taxable capital of the United States. If we suppose that four thousand million of this is real estate, and that only one-third of this is under the curse of slavery, we have 1,333,333,333 dollars of real estate, either owned by slave-holders or intimately connected with slavery. If emancipation should take place on right principles, there can be no reason to doubt that there would be a great rise on this real estate. If it should rise on an average only 15 per cent., we have the gain of about 200,000,000 dollars. According to these estimates, we have the annual loss of over 167,524,800 dollars by slavery, and might gain 200,000,000 more in the rise of real estate. If this 200,000,000 dollars should be awarded the slaves towards compensation, it would be over 80 dollars each for man, woman, and child.

The impoverishing, evil tendency and effects of slavery are to be seen in the wide-spread bankruptcy, the diminished value of estates, the worn out plantations, the prostration of the currencies, the miserable state of society, and others, according to the nature and extent of their governmental and commercial connexions with them. It is said the slave states of this union are now indebted to the people of the state of New York alone about 100,000,000 dollars—a large majority of which will probably remain for ever unpaid. Verily, "the robbery of the wicked shall destroy them."

CRUELTY OF AMERICAN SLAVERY.—The following is from the *New Orleans Bee*, of October 7th, 1841.

Cruel treatment of an infant slave.—Josephine Bonne, f. w. c., was brought yesterday before Recorder Bertus, charged with having cruelly

treated her slave, Mary. His honour went into a minute investigation of the circumstances attending this complaint, and, assisted by Dr. Valetti, made a personal examination of the child. Her body was most shamefully abused, being covered with severe stripes and boils of clotted blood from head to foot, evidently showing a most outrageous mal-treatment on the part of her mistress. The case being thus clearly proved, his honour remanded the prisoner for trial before the criminal court, and fixed the amount of bail at 500 dollars.

[Will she be punished? We doubt it, when we see in the respectable papers of New Orleans, such advertisements as the following:—

From the *New Orleans Picayune*, September 30.

FIVE DOLLARS REWARD.

Ran away from the subscriber, on Thursday last, the 14th inst., the coloured boy, George, aged about 26 years; had on when he left a pair of blue cottonette pantaloons, and white shirt; very dark complexion, a yoke round his neck, with no horns, and a scar on his forehead. Any person that will lodge him in any of the city gaols, or deliver him at my residence at the corner of Prytanea and Urania-streets, will receive the above reward. Captains of vessels and steam-boats are cautioned against harbouring the said slave, under the severest penalty of the law.

BRIDGE PHILLIPS, corner of Prytanea and Urania-streets.

From the *New Orleans Commercial Bulletin*, September 30.

TEN DOLLARS REWARD.

Ran away from the subscribers, on the 15th of last month, the negro man, Charles, about 45 years of age, five feet six inches high; red complexion, has had the upper lid of his right eye torn, and a scar on his forehead; speaks English only, and stutters when spoken to; had on when he left an iron collar, the prongs of which he broke off before absconding. The above reward will be paid for the arrest of said slave.

W. E. and R. MURPHY, 132, Old Raisin.

From the *New Orleans Bee*, October 5.

Ran away from the residence of Messrs. F. Duncom and Co., the negro, Francois, aged from 25 to 30 years, about five feet one inch in height; the upper front teeth are missing; he had chains on both of his legs; dressed with a kind of blouse made of sack-cloth. A proportionate reward will be given to whoever will bring him back to the bakery, No. 74, Bourbon-street.

INDIA.—SALE OF FEMALE CHILDREN FOR PROSTITUTION.—(From the *Calcutta Courier*.)—We have more than once adverted to a custom indulged in to an extent but little imagined in this city, at which humanity shudders. The custom to which we refer is the sale of female children for the vilest purposes. This practice is, we learn, not a whit abated; nay, we fear, on the contrary, that it is rather on the increase. It is a well known fact, that female children are disposed of for pecuniary considerations to the procress of the public stews of Calcutta; and that these poor wretches, after having served the purposes of their depraved purchasers, are cast helpless and discarded to seek, either a mere existence or a premature grave, in the lowest haunts of vice. Nor, from what has recently come to our notice, is this practice wholly confined to strictly native children; but even some who have a still stronger claim on our sympathy have been and are made the subjects of shameful barter in this city. Christian youth have been so disposed of.

A SECOND AMISTAD.—Captain J. R. Crosbie, brig *Elizabeth Wood*, from Nassau, New Providence, sailed 26th November, reports that the brig *Creole*, of Richmond, Virginia, bound to New Orleans, arrived at Nassau on the 9th November, with about 150 negro slaves on board, in a mutinous state. They had taken possession of the vessel, and demanded that they should be landed at a British colony, having wounded and disabled the captain (Orkin) and mate of the *Creole*, and abused and disabled several of the crew. They murdered a Mr. Howell, part owner of the slaves, who was a passenger on board, by severing his head from his body, and afterwards throwing his remains overboard. They compelled a shipmaster who was on board as passenger, to steer the brig to Nassau, where he made the above report. Several of the ringleaders were put in prison, and the rest suffered to go at liberty. It was reported that the American consul protested against their being allowed to land, but without effect. The *Creole* had sailed again for New Orleans, in charge of the mate.—*Morning Chronicle.*

SLAVE-TRADE.—It is stated in the *Constitutionnel*, that a firman has been obtained from the Sultan by the British ambassador at Constantinople, forbidding the exportation of slaves from Tripoli to the Levant.

ARABIAN SLAVE-TRADE.—The *Bombay Times* has received intelligence, that 3000 African slaves had been lately imported into Arabia from Zanzibar, and that 600 Abyssinian christian slaves had also been brought to the slave-market.

ESCAPE OF FRENCH SLAVES.—A correspondent of the *Antigua Herald* states that, "French slaves from Guadeloupe are arriving almost every day in open boats;" and that "the same thing happens with the slaves from the Danish islands, and St. Bartholomew," a Swedish island. He adds that a French schooner of war had arrived, the officer of which had instituted proceedings in the tribunal of police, to effect the reduction to slavery of one of these new freemen. The decision had not transpired.

A CONVENTION FOR THE TOTAL SUPPRESSION OF THE SLAVE-TRADE.—A convention has been agreed upon by Captain Tucker, of her Majesty's ship *Iris*, and king Pepple and the chiefs of the Bonny dominions. The terms are that Great Britain shall pay to king Pepple 10,000 dollars per annum for five years; that a certificate from the merchants frequenting the Bonny, to the fact of non-slave-trading, shall be furnished annually; that in default the slave-trade shall be put down by force; that king Pepple shall issue a prohibiting proclamation; and that, if Great Britain should carry on slave-trade again, king Pepple and his chiefs may do the same.

VERY UNKIND!—The 131 emigrants from Sierra Leone for Jamaica, who put into Bridgetown, Barbados, in the leaky brig *Gipsy*, will not go on to Jamaica, having been persuaded by some sharp practitioners to prefer Demerara.

Printed by WILLIAM JOHNSTON, and RICHARD BARRETT, of 18, Mark Lane, in the Parish of All Hallows Staining, and City of London: and Published by LANCELOT WILDE, of 18, Catherine Street, Strand, in the Parish of St. Mary le-Strand, and City of Westminster, at 18, Catherine Street, Strand, as aforesaid. old by W. EVERETT, 16, Finch Lane, Cornhill. December 29th, 1841.